Section 6.—SONS OF ROYAL CHIEFS.

565 622 624 I have dealt with the most senior son—Makasa, and how the line of all the sons of chiefs leads up to this one chieftainship. But not all sons get chieftainships as there are not enough posts to go round, so favouritism as well as ability are factors in these appointments. It does not matter whether a son is born of the head wife or of any other wife. There seems to be a vague system of training sons and discovering the more efficient ones. As the sons grow up into youths they are given sections of the chief's village (*fitente*) to look after. Then as they pass to manhood the better ones are made village headmen. So when a chief's appointment comes vacant there is some indication of the abilities of the sons.

557 622 I give a table of sons holding posts.[1] This shows their seniority, but not their status which in most cases cannot be assessed. As the table shows, not all sons hold posts and it is not always the older sons who get them. They may be passed over in favour of younger sons, and once passed over it is unlikely that they will get a post in the future. Names, as usual, mean nothing. A son takes the seniority of his father, but as I tell now, such seniority may get him nowhere, for the following tendencies and facts affect the succession of sons of chiefs :

(*a*) In addition to Chitimukulu and Mwamba only Nkula and Makasa seem to have had the power to creat chieftainships for their sons and to appoint successors.

(*b*) There was and still is a tendency for the reigning chiefs to push their own sons at the expense of the sons of dead chiefs although the latter are most probably senior. This tendency perhaps Government should support as it leads to the appointment of younger men.

(*c*) In the past, the sons of Chitimukulu were given the eastern chieftainships—Chisangaponde, Mukwikile, Mubanga and Makasa. The sons of Mwamba went to the west—Mporokoso, Sunkutu, Lwali, Chipalo, Tungati, Muchereka, Munkonge, Misengo, Kasonka, Luchembe, Lukaka. The sons of Nkula kept to the east of Chambeshi.

I want now to discuss these three tendencies in detail.

(*a*) Appointment of Sons.

I have discussed in Section 2 the powers of Nkula in connection with the appointment of his sons. The most recent evidence of them is in the appointment of his son as regent to Lukaka. The first Lukaka was allied to the old defunct Shimumbi line for he was a son of Shilukamba Chikwanda the founder of that temporary branch of chieftainship. The second Lukaka was son of Chitimukulu Chikwanda C6 and this son is alive to-day. He is very old and the appointment of a son of the present Nkula D14 as regent is quite valid. The Lukaka is in the area of Nkula's influence and is not

[1] [cat. 116, pp. 52-53]. —Analyst]

established either as a separate line contained in itself or in the line of promotion to other chieftainships. It may be a redundant chieftainship as it has not had much genealogical continuity. 557 622

Makasa once had seven appointments in his hands. Four of them were in Mambwe country and have already been abolished so we need not worry about them. He still has three—Changala, Chilangwa and Fwangila. These form a little line of their own, each one moving up as one dies and the lowest post, Fwangila, is filled by the son of the most senior Maka[illegible], living or dead, in the usual way. These three are sometimes *lumbwe* (a man who marries either a royal chief's daughter or a royal chief's sister). The late Changala was husband to Mukukamfumu Mandechanda C5 and is father of Nkula D14 and Chikwanda D15 and two daughters. The late Chilangwa too was married to a daughter of Mwamba. None of the three at the moment are *lumbwe*. No more need be said about this line except to say that it is ripe for abolition. By tradition the chief's areas should be merged with that of their father Makasa but geography may demand that one or more go to Chimbola. Kaliminwa is also connected with Makasa since he is usually Chilangwa's son, therefore grandson to Makasa (see later).

In the past, a daughter of Chitimukulu, called Namponda, had an area in the Abercorn district and Makasa always appointed one of his sons as *lumbwe* to her.

This brief outline of the power once possessed by Makasa as an appointer of chiefs shows how his importance in this respect has gradually become less.

A newcomer on the scene as the appointer of other chiefs was Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D5. He appointed or perhaps pressed the appointment of his own son as Masongo. But this is quite a new proceeding and was perhaps solely due to the personal influence of the Nkolemfumu. Never before in this lineage had an Nkolemfumu succeeded in getting a son appointed to a chieftainship. The previous Masongo was son of Mwamba Mubanga C2 and the one before that a son of Chitimukulu. Masongo is one of the smaller, unimportant chieftainships and may not last.

(*b*) Sons of Reigning Chiefs.

About this subject, little need be said. A glance at the table will show that there are many sons of royal chiefs who have never obtained posts, and those who are left as sons of an earlier generation are never likely to become chiefs now. We can see the tendency of reigning chiefs to push their own sons at the expense of those of dead chiefs working in many appointments. The latest one was the sending of Mwamba D3's son Lwali to be Mubanga ahead of Mukwikile although, as told later, there was another reason attached. As a Chitimukulu or Mwamba dies his sons often stay where they are without any further promotion. The present Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 has about fourteen sons and four of them already have posts. Of Mwamba V D3's four sons two have posts, but with the abolition of the Sunkutu there are two left without posts. Should then both Chitimukulu D1 and Mwamba D3 both die shortly, they will leave between them at least twelve sons without posts. It will be interesting to see how they will fare against the claims of the many sons of Nkolemfumu D6 and Mpepo D10. I think Nkolemfumu Mbonkali D5's one son without a post is already out of the running as he is old.

(c) Territorial Traditions.

557 622 643 This guiding rule of east and west appointments has also broken down, but only of recent years, and there are only three instances of it so far. Mporokoso is the senior of all posts traditionally in the hands of Mwamba. It differs from Makasa in that the Makasa can be held by the senior son whether he was son of Chitimukulu or Mwamba or Nkula. But in the Mporokoso succession only the sons of Mwambas were considered in the past. So that when an Mporokoso died in 1933, the line of heirs ran as follows: Tungati, Luchembe, Lukaka and Misengo (now Makasa). But Chitimukulu D1 appointed his eldest son Chisangaponde. He was thus pressing his own son at the expense of the sons of dead chiefs and also breaking the rule of direction for the first time. In return in 1939 Mwamba claimed the Mubanga for Lwali as we have said. The high salary of Mporokoso no doubt affected Chitimukulu's desire to put his son in the post. The third instance is the history of the son of Chitimukulu who is now Chipalo. When the minor post of Kasonka became vacant by that man becoming Chisangaponde, a son of the present Chitimukulu D1 called Sampa, was put in. When Chipalo died in 1937, Kasonka Sampa was made Chipalo and the Superior Native Authority took the opportunity of deleting the Kasonka as a chieftainship.

It seems from these three modern instances that the old rule of direction is being abandoned and I see no point in laying any emphasis on it in the future. It is obvious that salaries will have a greater influence on appointments in the future and I think the appointments of such sons as are left, after a campaign of amalgamation, can be trusted to Chitimukulu and Mwamba and the councillors. If there is quarrelling then the above list of control of appointments may be useful. Why Mwamba should have had a longer list of appointments than Chitimukulu I can only surmise. Of course, when the Mwamba becomes Chitimukulu he often finds his sons holding posts whose future succession is in the hands of another Mwamba so the distinction is not really important. I have already described how various Mwambas were noted warriors and when an area had been conquered from another tribe it was natural for the victorious Mwamba to put in one of his own sons to hold it. Mwambas such as Kapalaula B3 and Mubanga Chipoya C2 were certainly better fighters than many Paramounts and that is perhaps why their influence spread rapidly and they were able to appoint so many sons to newly won areas.

(d) Further Individual Details.

Before leaving this Section, I should give a little more information about some chieftainships.

The death of Mporokoso will lead to a good deal of discussion. In the past, the Sunkutu was considered the stepping-stone to the Mporokoso but the post was abolished with the death of the last Sunkutu. Chitimukulu D1 sent his son Chisangaponde II to be Mporokoso but Mwamba D3 sent a son to become Sunkutu. He is now a village headman but the Council obviously intend to keep the name as a stepping-stone. If then the Chitimukulu of the day keeps the appointment to the post he may try to put his own son in as at present. The more senior sons of a Chitimukulu, such as Chipalo, may claim it. On the other hand, if Mwamba claims the appointment, as in the past, the present Munkonge and Misengo and Sunkutu enter the lists. These are present-day claimants but if Mporokoso goes on